

# **Exhibit 32**

that Arafat was a crumb. The president also clearly believed that Israel and the United States were shoulder-to-shoulder in the same war.<sup>60</sup>

So did the vice president and the secretary of defense; as Bush later wrote, "Dick and Don were concerned that supporting a Palestinian state in the midst of an intifada would look like rewarding terrorism."<sup>61</sup> They did not favor giving any speech right then, but as the text emerged, they embraced it with enthusiasm while Powell thought it a great mistake. As draft followed draft, events in the region shaped the final outcome. On June 18, 19 people were killed and 74 injured, many of them young students, by the suicide bombing of a bus just outside Jerusalem. And the following day, 7 were killed and 50 injured in another suicide bombing, this time at a crowded bus stop in Jerusalem's French Hill neighborhood. Responsibility for the June 19 bombing was claimed by the "al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade," which was formally part of Arafat's Fatah movement. Days later, at a meeting in the final week before the speech, new intelligence was received showing that Arafat had authorized a \$20,000 payment to the group – even as he was continuing to tell American officials he was opposed to terror and was stopping it. Yet even that evidence did not move everyone in the room: "Powell, actually, was pooh-poohing it all: 'Oh, you don't know, you can't believe this stuff, how do you know, you can't really lay it on his doorstep,' but finally the preponderance of evidence was just so heavy."<sup>62</sup>

Yet the proof that Arafat was still financing terror in June 2002 – 10 months after 9/11 and after the promises he had made to Bush, Powell, Zinni, and other American officials – did end the debate. To Bush, as Mike Gerson put it, the conclusion was inescapable: "Israel doesn't have a partner. None of the steps make much difference because there was no adequate partner on the Palestinian side. There was this, I think, a dawning recognition that Arafat was going to make this completely impossible. That it was literally *impossible* while he was there."<sup>63</sup> On Saturday afternoon, June 22, Bush himself added the sentence calling for Arafat's removal.

On Monday, June 24, Bush stood in the Rose Garden, flanked not only by Powell but also by Rice and Rumsfeld – a sign perhaps of the battles that lay behind the speech but also that the days of Powell's predominance in Middle East policy were numbered. The speech never mentioned Arafat by name, but the key passages were direct:

My vision is two states, living side by side, in peace and security. There is simply no way to achieve that peace until all parties fight terror.

Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born.

I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror.

I call upon them to build a practicing democracy based on tolerance and liberty. If the Palestinian people actively pursue these goals, America and the world will actively support their efforts.

